

123-1

INVOICE CHECK LIST

HEULTRA Subproject

At

Date of Original
Authorization

Period Covered

Time Extended
To

Allocation
Number

Amount of
Obligation

15 Sept. 1960

1525-1908-1902

29. Nov

Additional Authorizations

Period Covered

Time Extended
To

Allocation
Number:

Amount of
Obligation

Invoice Number

Date: _____

Answer

Balance

4


22 Sept. 1960

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- 2 -

REMARKS:

123-2


TO: TSS/OC


1. Date of Obligation: N/A

2. Purpose of Project: To provide funds
for an investigation of Emerging  F

Images.

3. Progress to Date: Project being
initiated.

4. Expiration Date: N/A

5. Project Monitor:  A

FROM: TSS/CD

Room B-10,  G

Ext 


123-3

Purpose: To study emerging [redacted] images in three countries [redacted]
[redacted] and [redacted] whose people have achieved varying stages of
independence (MOULIRA 123).

Initiated: September 1960

Contractor: Dr. [redacted] as a grantee of the [redacted]

Cost: \$20,000

Status: Approximately two-thirds completed.

13
123-4
RESEARCH GRANT [REDACTED]
September 1, 1960 September 1, 1961

ACCOUNTING

Transportation

Ship	\$ 502.00
Plane	700.00
	165.50
	616.40
Plane	
Ship	860.00
Gratuities	156.10
Total Transportation	\$ 3,000.00

Internal Transportation

Depreciation on car	350.00
Petrol, insurance, etc.	650.00
Plane and train	500.00
Total Internal Transportation	1,500.00

Assistants and Clerical Help

1 secretary (4 months)	160.00
3 assistants	300.00
1 interpreter-guide	250.00
interviewers, assistants	
in villages, gifts	300.00
Total Assistants and Clerical Help	1,010.00

1 secretary	
3 clerical assistants	500.00
interviewers (approx. 100)	1,000.00
Total Assistants and Clerical Help	1,500.00

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Incidentals

Materials	\$ 600.00
Postage	150.00
Shipping (materials)	150.00
Miscellaneous	90.00

Total Incidentals \$ 990.00

Living Expenses (12 months) 10,000.00

IBM Computer Charges 2,000.00

TOTAL EXPENDITURES \$20,000.00

I certify that this accounting on two pages is
a correct accounting of the funds granted
to me by the

B [REDACTED]
C [REDACTED]

I have examined and approved the submitted
expenditures.

A [REDACTED]

TSP [REDACTED] Division

Date: 2/6/63

No.

546

Cost Account 1123-1029-1912

Object Class

[illegible]

(When Filled In)

123-5


15 September 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: COMPTROLLER

ATTENTION : Finance Division

SUBJECT : MKULTRA, Subproject 123

Under the authority granted in the memorandum dated 13 April 1953 from the DCI to the DD/A, and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda, Subproject 123 has been approved and \$20,000.00 of the over-all MKULTRA project funds has been obligated to cover the subproject's expenses. This obligation of funds should be charged to Allotment 1525-1009-1902.


Chief
TSD/Research Branch

APPROVED FOR OBLIGATION
OF FUNDS:


Research Director

Date:

17 SEP 1960

I CERTIFY THAT FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE;
OBLIGATION REFERENCE NO. 546
CHARGE TO ALLOTMENT NO. _____

AUTHORIZING OFFICER

19 SEP 1960

Distribution:

Orig & 2 - Addressee

- 1 - TSD/OC
- > 1 - TSD/PASS

133-6

27 September 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, FINANCE DIVISION

VIA : TSD/Budget Officer

SUBJECT : MGLTRA, Subproject 123, Invoice No. 1
Allotment 1125-1009-1902

1. Invoice No. 1 is attached covering the above subproject.
Payment should be made as follows:

Cashier's check in the amount of \$20,000.00

2. The check should be forwarded to Chief, TSD/Research Branch, through TSD/Budget Officer, no later than Tuesday, 11 October 1960.

3. This is a final invoice. However, since it is anticipated that additional funds will be obligated for this project, the file should not be closed.

A Chief
TSD/Research Branch

Attached:
Invoice & Certifications

CERTIFY THAT FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE: 29 SEP 1960

ORGANIZATION: 246

CHARGE TO ACCOUNT NO. 1125-1009-1902

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - Addressee

ATTENDING OFFICER

> 1 - TSD/FASS

A
E
BAGH
RECEIVED
2-01000
RECEIVED
UNIT OF \$2400

123-6

123

RECEIPT

Receipt is hereby acknowledged of the following check:

Cashier's Check No. [REDACTED] dated October 4, 1960, in the
amount of \$20,000.00, drawn on The [REDACTED]
payable to the [REDACTED]

B

C

Date: 10-18-60

123-6

27 September 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, FINANCE DIVISION

VIA : TSD/Budget Officer

SUBJECT : MGLTRA, Subproject 123, Invoice No. 1
Allotment 1125-1009-1902

1. Invoice No. 1 is attached covering the above subproject.
Payment should be made as follows:

Cashier's check in the amount of \$20,000.00
drawn on [REDACTED] payable to the [REDACTED] B

2. The check should be forwarded to Chief, TSD/Research
Branch, through TSD/Budget Officer, no later than Tuesday,
11 October 1960.

3. This is a final invoice. However, since it is anticipated
that additional funds will be obligated for this project, the files
should not be closed.

[REDACTED]
TSD/Research Branch

Attached:
Invoice & Certifications

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - Addressee

1 - TSD/FASS

> 2 - TSD/RB

TSD [REDACTED] (27 Sept 60)

A

123-6

INVOICE

For Services

\$20,000.00

B

CERTIFICATIONS

(1) It is hereby certified that this is Invoice No. 1 applying to Subproject No. 123 of MKULTRA, that performance is satisfactory, that services are being accomplished in accordance with mutual agreements, that a detailed agenda of the payments and receipts is on file in TSD/SS, that this bill is just and correct and that payment thereof has not yet been made.

Chief, TSD/Research Branch

Date:

(2) It is hereby certified that this invoice applies to Subproject No. 123 of MKULTRA which was duly approved, and that the project is being carried out in accordance with the memorandum of 13 April 1953 from the DCI to the DD/A, and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda.

Research Director

Date:

15 September 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: CONTROLLER

ATTENTION : Finance Division

SUBJECT : MGLFRA, Subproject 123

Under the authority granted in the memorandum dated 13 April 1953 from the DCI to the DD/A, and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda, Subproject 123 has been approved and \$20,000.00 of the over-all MGLFRA project funds has been obligated to cover the subproject's expenses. This obligation of funds should be charged to Allotment 1523-1009-1902.

A
[REDACTED]
Chief
TSD/Research BranchAPPROVED FOR OBLIGATION
OF FUNDS:_____
Research Director

Date: _____

Distribution:

Orig & 2 - Addressee

- 1 - TSD/OC
- 1 - TSD/FASS
- 2 - TSD/RB

N
TSD/[REDACTED] (15 Sept. 60)
[REDACTED]

123-8

SUBJECT : MKULTRA, Subproject 123

1. The purpose of Subproject 123 is to provide funds for an investigation of Emerging [redacted] Images. The research will be conducted by Dr. [redacted], a negro social psychologist. The attached proposal has been reviewed favorably by the Research Director and the Program Director of the [redacted].
2. This study is expected to add to our knowledge of how [redacted] in different cultural strata are reacting to various stages of independence. During these periods of social upheaval the [redacted] is expected to make a number of adjustments in his concept of his own role and his attitudes to the varying pressures from within and without causing the social change. In addition to throwing light upon some fundamental sociological and psychological questions, [redacted] immediate findings and contacts are potentially useful to the [redacted] Division.
3. Mr. [redacted] and Dr. [redacted] of the [redacted] Division have been briefed upon the nature and scope of this research.

4. This project will be funded as a grant-in-aid from the [REDACTED] Accounting

123-8

page(s) missing

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A PROPOSAL

By

C/ [REDACTED] .D.

For a long number of years I have had a burning desire to learn more about [redacted] through study and travel. I would like now to couple this desire with research which would extend, I hope, far beyond any personal desire, and perhaps indeed make a contribution to the field of international relations and the easing of group tensions.

As an American Negro, living in the United States, I have experienced on a personal level many of the vagaries of inter-ethnic group relations, while living in the Midwest and East, and working and traveling in the South and West. With professional training in Social Psychology, I have been exposed to the underlying theoretical constructs and broader implications of these diverse relationships. I believe this background of personal involvement and professional training have qualified me for the task I set.

One of the outstanding characteristics of ethnic group interaction is that interaction is often based upon generalized concepts or perceived images. These images include perceptions of others as well as of self. That these images have or do not have a basis in objective reality is of little consequence. The quality and degree of interaction is dependent upon these images. Thus, an awareness of these images becomes central to any attempt to reduce group tensions and develop harmonious group relations.

Group images develop and are maintained through the two dynamic interacting forces of the mass media and personal experiences and contacts. Once established, these concepts are quite resistant to time and events. Where personal contacts are of a given quality, however, and where social interaction is in great flux, these images can and do under go modification.

In the United States, a fertile field of study has been the investigation of ethnic or national stereotypes. While the majority of these studies has dealt with majority group stereotypes, some of them have dealt with minority groups. One of these minority groups has been the American Negro. A major finding here has been that stereotypes or images held by the American Negro are highly consistent with those

F 123-9

held by the majority group (the American White), including those stereotypes of his own group, the American Negro. The American Negro thus has incorporated and accepted images of his own group, including negative ones, which have been prescribed by the majority group. Underlying this acceptance is the learned concept of inferiority and the subsequent development of self-hate.

As the role of the Negro in the United States has changed and continues to change, as the opportunity for equal status interaction expands, the Negro's self image is undergoing change. This change in self image is slow but persistent and reflects the changes and progress in ethnic group relations in the United States.

Where social change is dramatic, the unveiling images should also be dramatic. Where after generations of dependency, nations emerge independently, the emerging self-other images must be dramatic and dynamic. Such is [redacted] today.

Without attending to the historical and social psychological ties between the Negro of America and the Negro of [redacted] many parallels can be drawn, especially in the attempts of both groups to rise from submission and servitude to positions of equality among men and nations. As with the American Negro, the [redacted] also has incorporated, in the past, negative self images. "White domination has undoubtedly had a traumatic effect upon the personality of the [redacted]...To the [redacted] civilization is not alone a different social organization...., it is the proof of the superiority of white men over black men. No teaching of racial pride or encouragement of native arts on the part of the white man can remove the implication of black inferiority." (1) But what of these images when an entire continent is in turmoil?

The realization is growing that the way nations see each other is paramount to international relations and the future of the world. "A central question in the matter of national attitude and belief is the way members of any given nation perceive the members of another....Generally the people of one nationharbor stereotyped

1. In [redacted] in
Stillman (ed.), [redacted] 1968, p. 63.

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images of other nations.....Until some headway is made, international relations must always be in danger of decision based on fantasy." (2)

As this awareness of the importance of images is growing, the "underdeveloped" countries also are growing, breaking out of traditional bounds, establishing new ties and relations. The course of action taken by these countries will have great impact on the United States, and on the world.

Thus, [redacted] and the quality of other countries relationships with [redacted] are of great importance. [redacted] own images are central, for future action is greatly dependent upon this concept of self. [redacted] images of peoples of other nations are also central. This is the purpose of my proposal---through study and investigation to gain awareness of these emerging images and attitudes.

C

[redacted]

F
123-9
The Project

Purpose: To investigate emerging ethnic images in the three countries of [redacted] and [redacted] as related to [redacted] nations and other nations which are exerting major influence in these areas. These three countries represent different phases in [redacted] development, with one country long having independence, another recently having gained independence, and the third being given independence this year.

Method: Within each country, emerging and changing ethnic images or stereotypes will be ascertained for self--that is, own group--here the [redacted] and for others--other nations of major influence in these countries, that is, [redacted] the United States, and several other countries.

These images will be examined at three levels. The first two levels embrace traditional techniques developed in the fields of Social Psychology and Sociology, while the third level combines techniques developed in a pioneer stereotype study and further refined in a doctoral study by the present writer, and the approaches used by the group authorized by [redacted] to study "Tensions Affecting International Understanding", and the [redacted] also under the auspices of [redacted].

The three levels of examination are: content analysis, personal interviews, and image-attitude measures.

1. Content Analysis: This involves an examination of representative forms of the mass media, specifically newspapers which began publication recently or since independence. This level of analysis should reveal images and attitudes held by [redacted] for themselves and peoples of other nations, as presented in the mass media.

2. Personal Interviews: These will be interviews conducted by the writer with various leaders in representative positions in these countries. This level of investigation should reveal images and attitudes held by [redacted] who will be shaping the destinies of these [redacted] nations and their

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relationships with other nations of the world.

3. Image Check-List-Attitude Questionnaire: This phase will involve an extensity type check list and a series of attitudinal statements, administered to representative samples of people from selected groups.

A. The Image Check -List. This consists of a series of group character traits (approximately 80), with an extensity scale which permits respondents to determine the extent to which a particular characteristic is possessed by various groups, including their own group. Such traits as "intelligent", "backward", "hardworking", "progressive", and "peace-loving", can be assigned percentage wise to the "American Negro", the "American", and so on.

B. The Attitude Questionnaire. This consists of a series of statements related to various actions which nations might take. (An example: 1. An announcement is received that a country has begun large scale disarmament. Which country would this most likely be?...Least likely be? The United States, etc. 2. A hospital is being built in your city (town). Medical specialists (Doctors, Surgeons, etc.) are needed. From which country would you want them to come? The United States, etc.)

Both the check list and the questionnaire will yield an objective measure of own-other image as well as a measurement of attitude toward own nation and other nations, as held by large numbers of peoples from various walks of life.

Procedure: Preliminary contacts will be established prior to going to [redacted]. These contacts will be at a high official level and with persons affiliated with various organizations (colleges, churches, etc.) who may provide guidance on the actual research. (Initiation of these contacts has already been undertaken).

While approximately four months will be spent in each country, the first step will be to visit each country for a period of time to confirm contacts, initiate assistant selection, conduct pretesting, and in general lay the groundwork for the investigation proper.

The study, as outlined, calls for three levels of operation--content analysis, personal interview, and image-attitude measurement. While the belief is that each operation will contribute to the overall image perception, greatest

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research emphasis is placed on the third mentioned operation, the image-
attitude measurement.

There is a realistic awareness of the scope and magnitude of the proposed study, and the possibility that perhaps the investigator is being overly optimistic in expecting to encompass these three operations in the allotted time. This may be. Once in the field, a more objective appraisal can be made. In the field, if revisions are necessary, in the design, the content analysis phase can be eliminated or at least altered. (One possibility would be to select representative newspapers, subscribe to them and have them sent to the United States where analysis could be made at a later date.)

The specific procedure for each level of investigation follows:

Content Analysis: In [redacted] there is only one daily newspaper and two weeklies. In [redacted] there are a total of six daily newspapers with a total circulation of about 110,000, and five weeklies, while in [redacted] there are eight dailies in the Western Region and three in the other two regions.

A time period for sampling of issues will be set for one year, from June 1, 1960 to June 1, 1961 (tentatively). In each country, sampling will cover each major newspaper, for selected days, weeks, etc. Issues of the newspapers will be selected on a rotating basis so there will be an overall representation of each day of the week, in the total sample. (approximately 144 per country).

From the selected issues, the specific content will be drawn from page placement (front page stories), editorials, feature writers, and feature stories. (Selection of content will be finally determined after preliminary sampling, coding and analysis).

The following dimensions will be examined, and analyzed. Frequency--how often each of the countries under investigation is mentioned (The U.S., [redacted])
Subject--what the story or item is about. Position--whether the country is presented in a major or minor role. Characteristics--traits attributed to each

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country (the unit of measurement will be a combination of words and themes-- simple sentences). The themes will be coded under the larger categories of International Relations and Tensions, Development, Human Relations, and Westernization. Direction--whether the tone and overall perception is favorable or unfavorable.

Cognizance is taken of the fact that these newspapers are written in English, have limited certainly not representative circulation, and would reach only the literate people in the country. The attitudes and images presented in these papers could not be taken to represent the attitudes and images of the masses of people. They will represent the attitudes and images of those people who help mold the public opinions and outlooks, and those of the literate people. The writers, the newspapers, and the readers are the influencers of opinions. Thus, though they may represent only a small segment of the total population, they represent a powerful segment of that population.

The investigator will select three assistants to make the tabulations. Part of the training of the assistants includes reliability checks between the individual coders and internal consistency for each coder.

Analysis will be in terms of the dimensions of frequency, subject, position characteristics, and direction, within each of the three countries and among the three countries, and for the various countries mentioned.

Procedure-Personal Interview: These will be semi-structured interviews conducted by the investigator with various leaders in each country. This will not be a "representative" sample as such, but rather an attempt to talk with and get impressions of leaders, near leaders, and influential people. As conceived, the total number of interviews will be small, confined only to these few leaders.

The exact nature of the interview, whether structured or unstructured, formal or informal, will depend on the inclination of the respondent.

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A prime minister of a country or his administrators will undoubtedly dictate the nature of the interview. Regardless of the specific method of the interview, the nature of the questions and content structure will be the same for each individual. The general themes are the same as those developed for the image-attitude checklist, that is, the themes of International Relations and Tensions, Human Rights, Westernization, and Development in "Underdeveloped" countries.

The analysis of these interviews will be a form of content analysis with a formulation of overall themes, perception of own and other countries, and perception of world issues. These perceptions will be qualitatively compared and contrasted within each country and across each country.

Again, the responses to these interviews will not be representative of the larger masses of people, but will be a reflection of the attitudes and images of those people who are actually setting the policy now, and those who may well determine policies and directions in the future.

Procedure-Image Attitude Check List--The check list will be administered in groups where possible. Every fourth respondent, rather than reacting to the check list, will respond to open end questions. These open end questions will take the form of, "Describe (Characterize) the [redacted] and so on, for the same countries which are reacted to on the check list. This provides a comparison between structured and unstructured reactions.

Sampling will be done on a stratified and cluster basis, drawn from three populations--from organized groups, unorganized urban population, and rural population.

The organized population will be made up of the major organizations--education (colleges), religion (churches), labor, and government. Approximately 250 subjects will be drawn from each of these four groups. (Variable depending on conditions.)

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For the other two populations, unorganized urban and rural, a form of cluster sampling will be used, made up of census tracts if available, or tax rolls, or city block designations, or for the villages perhaps from "Crop-type Village" designations. There will undoubtedly be greater difficulty in securing the general urban and rural samples, from at least three standpoints. These people will not belong to organized groups and thus the administration of the check list will undoubtedly entail individual face to face contact. Also, this unorganized urban group, and certainly the rural group, will be less literate than the organized groups. In addition to the use of an interpreter, either parallel rephrasing of the check-list questions, or total reliance on open end questions will be necessary. The open end questions would take the form of, "describe", or "characterize", or "Who are you, who are the [redacted] and so on, thus covering the same material and areas, being less structured, but also being directly comparable to the every fourth respondent in the organized groups.

Analysis

I. The Image Check List

1. The total percentages (weighted averages) assigned to each trait yields the extensity score--the degree to which a particular trait is attributed to a given country. The extensity score then enables a direct comparison between trait assignments for each country, and by the various respondents (classifications of college groups, labor, urban, rural, etc.). Tests of significance are tests of proportional differences.

2. The ratio between the frequency of assignments of high percentages to socially desirable traits, and low percentages to socially undesirable traits (chi square statistic), yields a directional score--the overall tone of the image whether it is favorable or unfavorable--for each country and within each classification break.

II. The Attitude Questionnaire

1. There will be at least five countries rated on a given number of statements. A total score will be derived for each country, thus enabling a rank order comparison among the five countries, according to the cross classifications data, and according to the four general areas (International Relations, Human Relations, Development, Westernization).

2. Those additional statements which are responded to by an agree-disagree scale, yield a total summated score, with a high score being most favorable and a low score least favorable. Again, direct comparisons are possible for respondents in the different classifications categories, and between the three countries, and within the four areas (Human Relations, etc.).

The investigation of emerging and changing ethnic images at the levels set forth--from the printed page, from leaders and influential people, and from the people themselves, and within countries with varying degrees of independence and world relations, should reveal images and attitudes, with great scope and depth.

Budget: The budget for the project is based on a research plan which covers One full year in [REDACTED] with approximately four months in each of the three countries.

Transportation to [REDACTED]	\$1500
Supplies (Materials, etc.)	500
Internal Travel (Within each country and to various countries)	3000
Assistance (\$1000 for each country)	\$5000
Secretarial Help	2000
Living Expenses	8000
Prep. of Materials for Publication	2000
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>\$20,000</u>

For the list of words below, place an X in the appropriate column for each word to indicate "What amount (percent) of the group The [redacted] possess this trait." The percentages and their interpretations are as follows:

100% All 80% Most 60% Many 40% Some 20% Few 00% None

Please place an X in the appropriate column for each word.

Col.	100	80	60	40	20	00	Col.	100	80	60	40	20	00
21. aggressive							36. materialistic						
22. Ambitious							37. musical						
23. artistic							38. nationalistic						
24. Backward							39. peace loving						
25. childish							40. scientific						
	100	80	60	40	20	00		100	80	60	40	20	00
26. cowardly							41. treacherous						
27. cruel							42. trustworthy						
28. deceitful							43. unreliable						
29. easy going							44. very religious						
30. faithful							45. sly						
	100	80	60	40	20	00		100	80	60	40	20	00
31. honest							46. superstitious						
32. imperialistic							47. suspicious						
33. industrious							48. primitive						
34. kind							49. war like						
35. lazy							50. physically dirty						

For the list of words below, do the same thing for the group, The [redacted]
"What amount (percent) of the group, The [redacted] possess this trait."

Col.	100	80	60	40	20	00	Col.	100	80	60	40	20	00
21. aggressive							36. materialistic						
22. ambitious							37. musical						
23. artistic							38. nationalistic						
24. backward							39. peace loving						
25. childish							40. scientific						
	100	80	60	40	20	00		100	80	60	40	20	00
26. cowardly							41. treacherous						
27. cruel							42. trustworthy						
28. deceitful							43. unreliable						
29. easy going							44. very religious						
30. faithful							45. sly						
	100	80	60	40	20	00		100	80	60	40	20	00
31. honest							46. superstitious						
32. imperialistic							47. suspicious						
33. industrious							48. primitive						
34. kind							49. war like						
35. lazy							50. physically dirty						

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Below is a list of statements---things that have been said, that have happened, something you might have read. For each statement, indicate which country would be most likely to do or say this. (Give this country the number 1). Then indicate which country would be least likely to do this. (Give this country number 5). Rate the other countries with the remaining numbers 2 through 4.

EXAMPLE: A statement..... [redacted] United States

This would mean [redacted] would be the most likely, [redacted] next likely, then the United States, then [redacted] and then [redacted] least likely.

1. A spokesman for a country states that the [redacted] is not ready to take care of himself. (Which country would this most likely be? Least likely be?)
2. An announcement is received that a country has begun large scale disarmament. (Which country would this most likely be? Least likely be?)
3. The statement is made that as [redacted] countries become independent, they should be made up of loosely organized territories rather than of a strong central government.
4. A country offers aid to the [redacted] countries and you can be rather sure there are no strings attached (no obligations to copy that countries form of government).
5. The statement is made that since wars must be, a country should be kept as militarily strong as possible.
6. The leaders of this country are among the most outstanding in the world.
7. The suggestion is made that the United Nations has grown too strong and should have some of its powers taken away.
8. In this country the wishes of the people are best represented.
9. If they had their way, they would like to gain (or keep) control of your country.
10. You hear what the [redacted] is strong central government.
11. Acceptance of aid from this country will probably be followed by attempts to have you accept its form of government.
12. There is an international dispute. One country threatens war.
13. This country undoubtedly has the best form of government today.
14. The statement reads, a new government can function best where there is an opposition party.
15. Is doing the most to aid and assist in the emergence and development of new nations.
16. The statement is made, "The United Nations is run primarily for the benefit and advantage of the White man."
17. This country has done the most to advance world peace.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Undecided

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

18. Here the power of the government is placed before the wishes of the people.
19. You read that a country has stated, "Since the possibilities of wars can be eliminated around the conference table, nations don't need strong armies."
20. The statement is made, almost dictatorial powers on the part of the government are necessary and desirable when a country is just developing.
21. An official states, "Without the guiding hand of the [redacted] or some white man, [redacted] will slowly slip back to where it was a hundred years ago."
22. [redacted] will soon take their places as world leaders.
23. On visiting this country, you find there are places you cannot sit and eat because your skin is dark.
24. Inherently, the [redacted] and the [redacted] are equal.
25. It is said, [redacted] are now illiterate because they are intellectually inferior.
26. The statement is made that racial segregation should be totally done away with.
27. You read the [redacted] man is incapable of ruling himself and conducting good government.
28. [redacted] in general are a happy people and are quite content even with independence will do little to change their social and economical position in the world.
29. A road is to be built. You are told the [redacted] should provide only the manual work (digging and so on), not the skilled part.
30. While the [redacted] has dominated the [redacted] for a long time, he has brought real development to these countries, and the [redacted] should continue to accept his leadership now.
31. A statement is made that separation of the races should be maintained and enforced by the government.
32. An editor of a newspaper states, the term [redacted] should be used to distinguish the [redacted] from the non-[redacted].
33. Although the [redacted] can learn and perform highly skilled jobs, the actual management and planning should be left up to the [redacted].
34. The [redacted] living in America has done little to gain his freedom will the [redacted] has done a great deal.
35. If the [redacted] is given highly technical and skilled jobs in the factory, production will probably decrease.
36. Because of the treatment of [redacted] one would have to say that most [redacted] Christians are poor Christians.
37. Your country desires educational specialists to help strengthen the educational system. They should come from.....
38. The highly educated person, the [redacted] who has a College degree should not work with his hands.

39. Most [redacted] so it is said, would still rather depend on their [redacted] doctors than on the doctor who practices his western medicine.
40. A startling and significant scientific discovery is made.
41. Is reported to have the best working conditions.
42. Religion promotes brotherly relationships between people and nations.
43. A hospital is being built in your locality. Medical specialists are needed. You would want them to come from what country?
44. Women should have the same educational opportunities as men.
45. When an [redacted] is ill, medicine as practiced by the [redacted] should be combined with [redacted] treatment to be most effective.
46. Plans are being developed to create modern industrial plants. Techniques for greatest production are needed.
47. This country has made the greatest scientific contributions to the world.
48. The practices of the church represent outgrown primitive beliefs based on superstition and magic.
49. You are offered a scholarship to study in any country you desire. Where would you go?
50. This country has done the most to industrialize the world.
51. [redacted] customs and [redacted] systems should be retained even though independence is gained.
52. When an [redacted] nation gains independence and freedom, the people can expect the living conditions to improve right away, since the government is now being run by its own people.
53. Industrialization in the western fashion is fine, but greatest emphasis should be given to the development of the land.
54. Communal type living build around the [redacted] system is superior to the kind of separation type living brought in by [redacted].
55. If a man believes he needs more than one wife, he should have more than one.
56. This country offers the best chance of leading the kind of life you would like to lead.
57. The [redacted] can keep most of his customs and ways of life and still prove equal to people in the rest of the world.
58. This country probably has the highest standard of living.
59. The way of living in this country has the greatest influence on other nations.
60. The educated [redacted] should adopt the [redacted] ideals and customs and throw off his [redacted] ways as quickly as possible to prove he is equal to the [redacted].

123

123-10

26 August 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT

: Approval of P

ATTENDANCE

: Dre... Gottlieb,

SUMMARY: 1. It was agreed to approve \$20,000 for [REDACTED] research. This project had been held up since consideration on 3 August (see Memo for the Record) until four specific steps could be taken. All conditions were met.

2. Drs. [redacted] and [redacted] met with [redacted] in an effort to get him to limit the scope of his proposal. His subsequent proposal proved an elaboration of his ideas rather than a trimming of his goals. Approval was granted on the condition, therefore, that another meeting with him (by Drs. [redacted] and [redacted]) would be concerned specifically with limiting the scope of his research.

3. Funding will be effected through the [REDACTED] mechanism.
[REDACTED] will remain unwitting of true sponsor.

4. A name check revealed that [redacted]'s name had been submitted for security clearance for recruitment by the [redacted] Division. Dr. Gottlieb established that there was no current intent to recruit him for operations. (See Memo for the Reg ord dtd. 10 Aug 60.)

TSD/Research Branch

Distribution:

Orig & 3 - TSD/RB

Rec'd.

fwl.

864

8/2/20

21594 60

26 Sept 60

24 Oct 60

24 Feb 64

for File

123-10

Approval of Dr. [REDACTED]

~~REDACTED~~ Gottlieb ~~REDACTED~~
~~REDACTED~~ Mr. [REDACTED] ~~REDACTED~~

A
B
C
D

2. Drs. [redacted] and [redacted] met with [redacted] to get him to limit the scope of his proposal. His proposal proved an elaboration of his ideas rather than

3. Funding will be effected through the [redacted] mechanism. [redacted] will remain unwitting of true sponsor.

4. A name check revealed that [REDACTED] name
[REDACTED] for security clearance for [REDACTED]

550/Research French

Distribution:
Orig & 3 - TSD/RB

Orig & 3 - TSD/RB

10 August 1960

123-10

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT : Discussion with [REDACTED] on the
[REDACTED] Proposal

On this date the writer called Mr. [REDACTED] to inform him of the fact that we had found out through a name check that he had asked for a clearance on [REDACTED] at one time. [REDACTED] indicated that they had not ultimately contacted him and that we should feel free to proceed with our proposal. [REDACTED] thought that if, along with [REDACTED] work in [REDACTED] he could also be on the lookout for appeals that would be meaningful to the groups that he was studying, such information would be of interest to him. [REDACTED] agreed that the proposal tried to accomplish too much and should be cut down to a more limited area on which [REDACTED] could focus more concentrately.

SIDNEY GOTTILIEB
TSD/Research Branch

A
C
P

[REDACTED] was granted a Covert
Approval in January of 1959.
(It was approved for [REDACTED]'s use
only.)

3 August 1960

123-10

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT : Discussion of Dr. [redacted]
Proposal: The Investigation of Emerging
[redacted] Images

ATTENDANCE : Drs. Gottlieb, [redacted]
Mr. [redacted] and Mr. [redacted]

SUMMARY : It was agreed that further investigation of this
proposal is called for before approving it.
Doubts were expressed about the reasonableness
of the scope of the proposal and Dr. [redacted]
qualifications to achieve his proposed aims.
Therefore, action on the proposal was held up
until the following specific steps could be
taken:

1. Dr. [redacted] could review it.
2. Dr. [redacted] could review the proposal
and talk to Dr. [redacted] about it.
3. Mr. [redacted] could talk to Dr. [redacted]
thesis chairman and/or Prof. [redacted]
about [redacted] qualifications.
4. A more realistic proposal could be
written.

Mr. [redacted] suggested that [redacted] should be
given some information in order to maintain his
interest. It was suggested that Mr. [redacted]
should inform [redacted] that the proposal was being
looked upon favorably and that the [redacted]
[redacted] pa
a consulting retainer while a more realistic pro-
posal is written with the help of Dr. [redacted]

The above was agreed upon and Dr. Gottlieb and
Mr. [redacted] who are meeting with Mr. [redacted]
on 4 August agreed to convey these points.

TSD/Research Branch

2 August 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT : Discussion with [redacted] of [redacted] Division
the [redacted] Proposals

1. At 1130 I met with Dr. [redacted] of the [redacted] Division to inform him of our intention to support the proposals of Dr. [redacted]

[redacted] I told Dr. [redacted] that in the course of developing our "new look" we were making every effort to keep interested Agency components and [redacted] informed of research projects being sponsored.

2. Dr. [redacted]'s reaction was relatively non-committal. He commented initially that as long as it was not his money he was not going to offer any critique. He noted names of principals, geographical areas, tentative dates for starting research, etc. He thanked me and said that he would appreciate being kept informed periodically.

TSD/Research Division

Distribution:
Orig & 2 -TSD/RB

TSD/RB [redacted] (3 Aug. 1960)

123-12

May 24, 1960

Memorandum to [REDACTED] A

Subject:

Proposal - [REDACTED] C

Dear [REDACTED]

In view of my own exposure to the education problem in my recent trip and in view of the over-all strategic importance of [REDACTED] F and [REDACTED] in the forthcoming years, it is my opinion that the attached proposal from Dr. [REDACTED] has more potential for application at this time than does the proposal of Dr. [REDACTED] which previously was approved and submitted by the Board. C

B I have delayed sending this proposal because I hoped that funds would be available from the [REDACTED] to support the work. This does not appear to be forthcoming in time to get the work underway. Consequently, your consideration is requested for funding this research through the Society.

[REDACTED] A

27 July 1960

Date Recd	Date Fwd
29 Jul	1 Aug
28 Jul	28 Jul
28 Aug	28 Aug
28 Jul	28 Jul
	28 Jul
	28 Jul
27 July	28
Remarks	Meeting 1800, Wednesday,
3 August 1960	Office.
FILE	

123-72

January 12, 1960

Dear Mr. [REDACTED]

Here is my proposal for research in [REDACTED] F
If there are any unclear points, I would be
glad to discuss them.

While I didn't mention the medical study
in [REDACTED], nor plans for traveling in other
countries in [REDACTED], I certainly have them
in mind.

From the budget standpoint, I have tried
to work it out on the basis of conversations
with people who have been to [REDACTED] and F
from information literature etc. I don't know
how realistic it is within the framework
of funds available to the Foundation.

I must say though that I would like
very much to do this study, and I am
more interested in doing the study than
I am in making money. So if my budget

123-12

is too high or too low, I am perfectly willing
to make any adjustments.

Also, I discussed the project with Prof.
[redacted] at [redacted]. He said he
would gladly write you concerning the
merits of the study, my qualifications,
and so on. So if you want this kind
of information you might contact him or
let me know and I can have him contact you.

I will be looking forward to hearing from
you.

Sincerely

Phone: [redacted]

(Home)

or [redacted]

123-12

A PROPOSAL

[REDACTED]

c

by Dr.

[REDACTED]

123-12

For a long number of years I have had a burning desire to learn more about [redacted] through study and travel. I would like now to couple this desire with research which would extend, I hope, far beyond any personal desire, and perhaps indeed make a contribution to the field of international relations and the easing of group tensions.

As an American Negro, living in the United States, I have experienced on a personal level many of the vagaries of inter-ethnic group relations, while living in the Midwest and East, and working and traveling in the South and West. With professional training in Social Psychology, I have been exposed to the underlying theoretical constructs and broader implications of these diverse relationships. I believe this background of personal involvement and professional training have qualified me for the task I set.

One of the outstanding characteristics of ethnic group interaction is that interaction is often based upon generalized concepts or perceived images. These images include perceptions of others as well as of self. That these images have or do not have a basis in objective reality is of little consequence. The quality and degree of interaction is dependent upon these images. Thus, an awareness of these images becomes central to any attempt to reduce group tensions and develop more harmonious group relations.

Group images develop and are maintained through the two dynamic interacting forces of the mass media and personal experiences and contacts. Once established, these concepts are quite resistant to time and events. Where personal contacts are of a given quality, however, and where social interaction is in great flux, these images can and do undergo modification.

In the United States, a fertile field of study has been the investigation of ethnic or national stereotypes. While the majority of

these studies has dealt with majority group stereotypes, some of them have dealt with minority groups. One of these minority groups has been the American Negro. A major finding here has been that stereotypes or images held by the American Negro are highly consistent with those held by the majority group (the American White), including those stereotypes of his own group, the American Negro. The American Negro thus has incorporated and accepted images of his own group, including negative ones, which have been prescribed by the majority group. Underlying this acceptance is the learned concept of inferiority and the subsequent development of self-hate.

As the role of the Negro in the United States has changed and continues to change, as the opportunity for equal status social interaction expands, the Negro's self image is undergoing change. This change in self image is slow but persistent and reflects the changes and progress in ethnic group relations in the United States.

Where social change is dramatic, the unveiling images should also be dramatic. Where after generations of dependency, nations emerge independent, the emerging self-other images must be dramatic and dynamic.

Such is [redacted] today.

Without attending to the historical and social psychological ties between the Negro of America and the Negro of [redacted], many parallels can be drawn, especially in the attempts of both groups to rise from submission and servitude to positions of equality among men and nations. As with the American Negro, the [redacted] also has incorporated, in the past, negative self images. "White domination has undoubtedly had a traumatic effect upon the personality of the [redacted]....To the [redacted] civilization is not alone a different social organization....., it is the

proof of the superiority of white men over black men. No teaching of racial pride or encouragement of native arts on the part of the white man can remove the implication of black inferiority." (1) But what of these images when an entire continent is in turmoil?

The realization is growing that the way nations see each other is paramount to international relations and the future of the world.

"A central question in the matter of national attitude and belief is the way members of any given nation perceive the members of another..... Generally the people of one nation.....harbor stereotyped images of other nations.....Until some headway is made, international relations must always be in danger of decision based on fantasy." (2)

As this awareness of the importance of images is growing, the "underdeveloped" countries also are growing, breaking out of traditional bounds, establishing new ties and relations. The course of action taken by these countries will have great impact on the United States, on [REDACTED] on the world.

Thus, [REDACTED] and the quality of other countries relationships with [REDACTED] are of great importance. [REDACTED]s own images are central, for future action is greatly dependent upon this concept of self. [REDACTED] images of peoples of other nations are also central. This is the purpose of my proposal---through study and investigation to gain awareness of these emerging images and attitudes.

C&B [REDACTED]

C&B [REDACTED]

The Project

12.3-12

Purpose: To investigate emerging ethnic images in the three countries of [REDACTED] as related to [REDACTED] nations and other nations which are exerting major influence in these areas. These three countries represent different phases in [REDACTED] development, with one country long having independence, another recently having gained independence, and the third being given independence this year.

F Method: Within each country, emerging and changing ethnic group images or stereotypes will be ascertained for self--that is, own group--here the [REDACTED], and for others--other nations of major influence in these countries, that is [REDACTED] the United States, and several other countries. These images will be examined at three levels. The first two levels embrace traditional techniques developed in the fields of Social Psychology and Sociology, while the third level combines techniques developed by [REDACTED] in a pioneer stereotype study and further refined in a doctoral study by the present writer, and the approaches used by the group authorized by [REDACTED] to study "Tensions Affecting International Understanding", and the [REDACTED] also under the auspices of [REDACTED]

B

The three levels are: content analysis, personal interviews, and image-attitude measures.

1. Content Analysis: This involves an examination of representative forms of the mass media, specifically newspapers which began publication recently or since independence. In [REDACTED]

where there is only one daily newspaper and several weeklies, an analysis might be made of each newspaper covering representative periods of time. In other countries where there are from six to twelve daily papers throughout the country, representative sampling will be conducted. This level of analysis should reveal images and attitudes held by [redacted] of themselves and peoples of other nations, as presented in the mass media.

2. Personal Interviews: These will be structured interviews conducted by the writer with various leaders in representative positions in the countries. This level of investigation should reveal images and attitudes held by [redacted] who will be shaping the destinies of these [redacted] nations and their relationships with other nations of the world.

F 3. Image Check-List-Attitude Questionnaire: This phase will include an extensity type check list and a series of attitudinal statements, administered to representative samples from selected groups. Included in this sampling will be college students, and members of labor groups, religious groups, government groups, other large groups, and if possible, respondents from rural areas. While large numbers of respondents will be involved, the actual number can be determined only upon actual administration of the questionnaire within each country.

A. The Image Check-List. This consists of a series of group character traits (approximately 30), with an extensity scale which permits respondents to determine the extent to which a particular characteristic is possessed by various groups, including their own group. Such traits as "intelligent", "backward", "hardworking", "progressive" and "peace-loving", can be assigned percentage wise to [redacted], the [redacted], the [redacted], the "American", the "American Negro", and so on.

B. The Attitude Questionnaire. This consists of a series of statements related to various actions which nations might take. (An example: 1. An announcement is received that a country has begun large scale disarmament. Which country would this most likely be? Least likely be?--the United States, ~~Germany~~ ..etc. 2. A hospital is being built in your city (town). Medical specialists (Doctors, Surgeons etc.) are needed. From which country would you want them to come?--the United States, and so on.)

Both the check list and the questionnaire will yield an objective measure of own-other image as well as a measurement of attitude toward own nation and other nations, as held by large numbers of peoples from various walks of life.

The investigation of emerging and changing ethnic images at the levels set forth--from the printed page, from leaders and influential persons, and from the people themselves, and within countries with varying degrees of independence and world relations, should reveal images and attitudes with great scope and depth.

123-12

Budget: The budget for the project is based on a research plan which covers one full year in [REDACTED] with approximately four months in each of the three countries.

F Transportation to [REDACTED] \$1500

Supplies (Materials etc.) 500

Internal Travel (Within each country 3000
and to various countries)

Assistance (\$1000 for each country) 3000

Secretarial Help 2000

Living Expenses 8000

Prep. of Materials for Publication 2000

TOTAL \$20,000

ABSTRACT

by

Dissertation Committee:

Chairman
Member of Committee
Member of Committee.

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
under the Joint Committee on Graduate Instruction

1958

The present study investigated stereotypes held by Negro college students toward five ethnic groups, as related to variations in the students' regional background and college year status. The dimensions of direction and extensity received primary focus with stereotype content being considered also. Direction referred to the favorability or unfavorability of the overall ethnic perception. Extensity referred to the percent of the ethnic group perceived as possessing a characteristic, and content referred to frequency of trait assignment.

In addition, the study investigated stereotype persistence and respondent resistance to ethnic group generalizing.

The subjects of the investigation were 717 male Negro college students, of Northern and Southern background, who were attending three Border State, predominantly Negro universities. The subjects also were of freshman and junior-senior class status.

The question of primary concern was whether the different social patterns of living, and the subsequent differences in ethnic group interactions, encountered by Negroes who reside in Northern or Southern regions of the country, would be reflected in their ethnic perceptions, the stereotypes, they held for the American White, the American Negro, the American Jew, the [REDACTED] and the [REDACTED]. The instruments were a checklist and an extensity type measure.

F

The major findings of the investigation were: There are significant differences in ethnic stereotypes held by Negro college freshmen of different regional origin, in relation to direction and extensity. In general, Northern Negro college freshmen have more favorable perceptions of the American White, the [redacted] and the [redacted] than do Southern Negro college freshmen.

F
There are no significant differences in ethnic stereotypes held by Northern Negro college freshmen and seniors who are attending universities in Southern regions, in relation to direction and extensity.

There are no significant differences in ethnic stereotypes held by Northern and Southern Negro college seniors who are attending universities in Southern regions, in relation to direction. In extensity, Southern seniors tend to have a more favorable perception of the American Negro.

There are significant differences in ethnic stereotypes held by Southern Negro college freshmen and seniors who are attending universities in Southern regions, in relation to direction and extensity. Southern Negro college seniors have more favorable perceptions of all five ethnic groups.

There are no marked differences in the major components of ethnic stereotype content among Negro college students of different regional background and college class status. Minor components of the stereotype tend to reflect the differences among the students however.

Among Negro college students, trait assignment by a check list technique and by an extensity type measure produces highly similar results in stereotype content and direction.

Among Negro college students, the stereotypes of five ethnic groups have not changed with a passage of fifteen years, although the fade out tendency is present. However, the stereotype of the [REDACTED] has become more favorable, and the stereotype of the American Negro tends to indicate a changing concept of the Negro.

Among Negro college students, there is resistance to assigning characteristics to ethnic groups. However, the major portion of students do not offer resistance to the procedure.

Conclusions

The results of the investigation indicate that while stereotype content, in general, is resistive to regional and educational differences, as well as time, the overall tone of the stereotype reflects the diversities of the social patterns of living, and the ethnic group interactions afforded these Negro college students. Northern freshmen have developed a warmth toward ethnic groups which is less highly developed among Southern freshmen, while Northern and Southern seniors have blended in their perceptions. Northern seniors have maintained a fairly level perception while the Southern senior has moved toward the more favorable perceptions of the Northern student.